/82 cont./

226 He lies in wait for the fish which are caught between the two dikes and are thus led toward the net which closes the barrier" (Palavecino).

The Uro like to fish at night: "It is a curious spectacle to see them on moonlit nights embark on their balsas in the direction of their barriers. At their destination they form a sort of conical tent with the totora sails, which shelters them from the wind, and they give themselves over to fishing" (Palavecino).

[411] When the Uro navigate on the Desaguadero, they always carry along with them a spear (p'iri), whose point bristles with iron spikes. With this weapon they harpoon the suche (Tricomicterus), a fish to which they are very partial, in the mud where the water is not very deep.

223 Hunting. Hunting plays only a very secondary role in the Uro economy. In all, for game they have nothing beside the water birds which abound in the marshes of the Desaguadero. They strike them with bolas, of which two weights are cylinders of wood; the third is an oval stone, which they hold in the hand while they whirl this weapon over the head (Fig. 25, 3 /see p. 15/).

They also have recourse to extremely long nets in capturing these birds whose flight skims the water. These are stretched in a semicircle /83/ in the middle of the fields of totora and attached to faggots of rushes and to stakes. A part of the net is submerged to prevent the diving birds from passing beneath the surface of the water. The hunters on their balsas make noise to chase the birds toward the obstacle where the latter find themselves caught. Those which succeed in escaping are killed with bolas.

The cold of the Titicaca is such that in the mornings the birds are torpid. The Indians, hidden behind bundles of totora, draw near without being seen; they catch them by their claws and finish them off with their teeth or by twisting their necks.

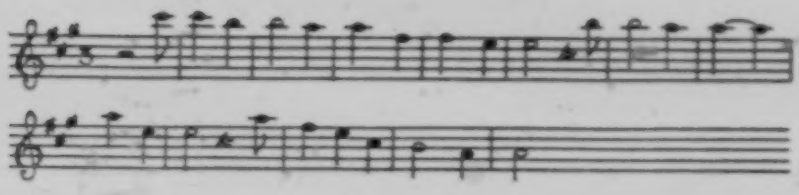
241 Agriculture. The Uro today practice agriculture, just as the inhabitants on the shores of the Titicaca do. I do not know to what extent the produce of their fields contributes toward guaranteeing their existence. They cultivate, of course, potatoes and quinua.

Carangas — Chigaya

/379 cont./

529 292 301 As I said above religious or magical rites have only an insignificant place in this festival: the important survivals of paganism are displayed in the trappings of the participants (Pl. XIV, D /see p. 135/). The majority had put on around their bodies festive slings, whose fringes fashioned a motley costume for them. Some had encircled their heads with a kind of artificial hair made from horse hair (Pl. XVI, C /see p. 137/) or with crowns of flamingo feathers. The most original headdresses which I noticed were a few crowns made of flamingo eggs threaded together (Fig. 36, A /see p. 109/). A large part of the young people had water birds on their [373] backs, attached by the straw bola which had killed them (Fig. 35, [354] B). The alferez's and alferezas had loaded on their backs the sheaves of straw behind which they had presided at the festivals of the various mal'ku and samiri. The latter were decorated with garlands of fruit, cheeses, and bread. Those who had not had the honor of being alferez were no less decorated with ornaments symbolizing prosperity and abundance.

529 533 Tunes of the Carnival Dances



2:Métraux--151 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas -
Chipaya
Aymara SF5

/164 cont./

U 113 263

1. Posnansky (Ing. Arthur), Los Chipayas de Carangas /The Čipaya of Carangas/. La Paz, Bolivia, 1918, p. 6; La lengua "Chipaya" (Carangas, Bolivia) /The "Čipaya" Language (Carangas, Bolivia)/. La Paz, 1915, p. 2; "Nuevas investigaciones en Carangas (Bolivia) /New Investigations in Carangas (Bolivia)/." Congrès international des Américanistes. Record of the XXI Session, Part II, held at Göteborg in 1924. Göteborg, 1925, p. 91.

U 224 the principal food of the Čipaya. In reality, during my entire stay I never saw a Čipaya catch one; and when I asked them to get a few specimens for me, they demanded an exorbitant price from me, claiming the difficulty of this hunt. Toxo are rare in the territory properly called Chipaya; they are found only at a certain distance A 224 from the grassy zone behind the dunes. It is there that the Aymara come /165/ to capture them. Their method, as far as I can understand it from the explanations which have been given to me, is the following: they try to dislodge the toxo from the underground corridors where it stays by opening them with a blow from a shovel; then when it comes out they pursue it and beat it to death. In the plains undermined by the toxo, one can see the earth completely worked over by the hunters.

U 224 The Čipaya easily get hold of vicuñas by setting their dogs, U 911 swift and bloodthirsty beasts, on them. They themselves succeed in 215 knocking down these animals with bolas, or throwing stones. This same weapon permits them to bring down water birds.

U 226 The fish to be found in the small ponds of the Chipaya plain are too miniscule for the word fishing to be used in connection with them. It is more as a pastime than for food that the Čipaya amuse

A [i.e., The Toxo -- Analyst]

Cayanga—
Čipaya

/168 cont./

203 411 191 In hunting water birds the Čipaya use a straw rope ending with a knot the size of a fist (Fig. 4. C /see p. 157/). This weapon corresponds exactly to the bola perdida of the ancient Patagonians, with the difference that among the latter the terminal ball was of stone. Aside from this the principle of these two weapons is the same. This is the first time that the bola perdida has been found elsewhere than at the southern end of South America. Its presence among the Čipaya is one more argument in favor of the archaic character of this culture trait.

203 411 The Uro Indians of the Desaguadero hunt the water birds which swarm in the totorales with bolas, two weights of which are wooden, and the third a small pyriform stone. The rope of this projectile is rolled up in very tough black thread. If the weapon does not reach its goal it floats on the water, and the Indians have only to pick it up with their hands. /169/ /Figure 4 appears here./

/170/ Clothing

291 Men's wear. The essential piece of men's wear is a square shirt (iza) made of thick, stiff woolen cloth. It is a kind of sack with openings for the head and arms (Fig. 5. G /see p. 163/). As a result of its width the upper part of this shirt falls on the shoulders practically down to the elbow. The iza was formerly the only garment of the Čipaya, as it still is for young boys up to the age of ten. At a doubtlessly recent date, the Čipaya adopted the pants that they wear under their tunic. By making the latter bunch at the waist on a cord which takes the place of a belt for them, they have transformed it into a blouse, while keeping its original length which was enough to cover them down to mid-leg. The iza is the best product [339] of Čipaya textile art. The decoration of this article of clothing [386] invariably consists of a blue border and small brown and white strips separated by black lines. None of these dyes is aniline.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 158]

Stvelland--12 D.E-5 (1938-1944) 1949 SF24 Dre SF24

/175/

III. Fishing
(Account by Manuel Inza)

(See p. 137 /in the foreign text/)

Free Translation

1. I left my house. 2. I went toward the lake. 3. I have been to catch fish. 4. I took a boat hook. 5. I took a large net. 6. We are accustomed to fish with this net. 7. We are accustomed to go fishing at night as well as very early in the morning or evening. 8. We are accustomed to go with another person or even alone. 9. We are free to go fishing or not to go. 10. I got into the balsa. 11. We are accustomed to propel it with the boat hook. 12. We maneuver the boat hook by hand. 13. We are accustomed to put on our tunics now because of the mist. 14. We have taken way a net. 15. Thou, chase the fish with thy boat hook. 16. Me. I lift up the net. 17. There is a souche; a souche is swimming by. 18. We are going to catch it. 19. It is very close. 20. Stick it (with thy spear). 21. Hast thou caught it? 22. I have caught it. 23. We are accustomed to putting (the fish) in the balsa. 24. A souche has fallen into the water. 25. I have taken it out of the water. 26. Let us go elsewhere. 27. All the fish have left. 28. Let us go hunt for coots. 29. Let us rest; I am tired. 30. We are accustomed to hunting coots. 31. We are accustomed to follow them in flight. 32. We are accustomed to hitting them with the boat hook. 33. It has dived. 34. It is coming out of the water. 35. I shall catch the coot with my boicadores /boiɑ:/. 36. It did not touch it. 37. Another will come and thou wilt catch it. 38. Yes. 39. It has come back. 40. We will set out again with the balsa. 41. Let us go fast, or else it will escape (outdo) us. 42. We have caught it. 43. We have caught its /176/ young ones. 44. Bite the coot at its head (to kill it). 45. Let us go

/176 cont./

*539 sell it. 46. We must return with this one; let's return.
321 47. There are no more. 48. We go along in vain. 49. We
223 have looked everywhere; there are no more. 50. We are going to carry everything to the house.

Remarks

*539 This text is divided into three parts. In a short introduction
321 (1-9) the narrator explains the fishing customs of the Uru, and
223 then he describes a day of fishing and hunting aquatic birds in the swamps of the Desaguadero: the departure (10-14), the work of the catcher, who hits the water with a boat hook to direct the frightened fish toward the nets (15-16); fishing for suche (Trichomycterus dispar), a silurus /sheatfish/, which is the largest fish in the lake, reaching 30/35 cm., captured by means of a long three-meter spear ending in multiple points (17-27); and lastly, hunting for coots (Fulica gigantea and Fulica americana) forced into flight and then killed with the boat hooks (30-34) or captured with bolas with wooden balls (35-42). The captured coots are killed by a bite at the head (44). Then comes the return (45-50). This account is very lively.

*539 There are no special words for fishing or hunting; only the
192 verb tána- čay, literally, "to take," is used.
193 From the point of view of grammar the text furnishes interesting verbal forms, in particular, the forms indicating the usual -čučay, as in the previous texts; the form -čačay (46), implying the idea of obligation; the double use of the root (8) to reinforce the idea expressed by the verb. Moreover, the frequency of the euphonic letters s and l: 2, 5, 8, etc., should be emphasized.

This text contains two Hispanicisms: the first is very curious (8); in order to better render the idea of solitude, alone, absolutely alone, the narrator has repeated the word "one," /177/ but by pairing the Uru word tína, "alone," with the

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24

Uru, who, at best, are an inhospitable, apathetic, and hate-filled group which has been condemned and harassed throughout its history.

The culture of the *Uru* is now largely like that of the *Aymara*, with whom they have recently extensively intermarried, but it preserves several interesting archaic features of altiplano culture.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Fishing.—The *Uru* depend primarily on fishing (pl. 115, *top*), secondarily on hunting, in the waters and totora reed swamps of Lake Titicaca and the Rio Desaguadero. The dry land they own is so restricted that they have little agriculture, although they have some livestock.

Fishing by moonlight is much favored. They frequently use a V-shaped weir made of reed bundles thrust into the mud of the swamp bottom, with a removable net at the opening of the V; the fish are driven into the converging fences by agitating the water with a bundle of reeds tied to a pole. The *Uru* also use three- and eight-pointed spears, but lack the bow and arrow. They have several kinds of nets. Large dip nets attached to a frame are handled by one fisherman; the netting is placed over a conical frame, the partially closed base of which is 10 ft. (3 m.) in diameter. Another framed net is rectangular, a scoop net with a pole handle. Bottom and dragnets also exist; these are weighted with perforated stones at the bottom, and require a number of persons to drag them behind several balsas. Small fish, salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. Larger varieties are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire; thus smoke-dried, they are preserved for periods of scarcity.

Hunting.—Hunting is next in importance to fishing. The river marshes abound in water hens, ducks, geese, loons, herons, various diving birds, and gulls, of which only the loon is not eaten, because of its rank oily flesh. A kind of red duck (pana-soluna) is most frequently hunted. Hunting methods are varied. The *Uru* are skillful with slings, which are woven and braided of varicolored llama and sheep wool. They also use bolas, which have two large wooden floats for balls and a small, grooved, ovoid stone for a handgrip. One use of disguises has been reported. Early in the morning a man conceals himself in a bunch of reeds, slowly approaches the birds which are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, quickly kills them by biting the head or twisting the neck. In communal hunts, nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, are set in slightly curved lines on reed supports. Hunters in balsas make a noisy drive and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets and dispatch them with clubs. The *Uru* also eat the eggs of aquatic birds, and sun-dry strips of their flesh to make a kind of charqui.

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

native names for so exiguous a number of scientific varieties. These occur in the species: *O. Cuvieri*, *O. Pentlandi*, *O. Humboldti*, *O. Jurinei*, *O. Bairdii*, *O. Orbignii*, *O. frontosus*, *and O. Nattereri*. Of the *Trichomycteri* (Aymara *suli*, *mauri*; Uru *lisi*) these species are present: *T. dispar Tschudi*, and *T. rivulatus*. Other native names for fish, which I have been unable to identify clearly with the scientific classifications are: (Aymará) *qeri-tonka*, *qeristan*, *kuri-mauri*, *umasiá*, *Koruli*; (Uru) *keri*, *liz*, *loki*, *ch'ula*, *lulkiri*, and *wak'lali* —whence it appears that the natives give separate names to the male and female of the same species.

Fish are preserved and prepared in several ways. The smaller kinds (*isipi*, *salula*, *alkerlula*), salted and toasted, are carried and eaten dry on journeys. The larger varieties (*lali*, *mauri*, *lisi*) are salted, scaled, boned, and stretched out between stones in a slow, smoky fire, and thus smoke-dried are preserved for periods of scarcity, according to Posnansky. But what appears to be the same process, described by Palavecino, is evidently a method of *cooking*:

> These ovens, which the Uru call *nasaka*, consist in a hole dug in the soil, whose depth, equal to the diameter, is about 60 cm. The rounded edge is raised at the surface of the ground, and the entire interior is plastered with clay. The Uru light a fire in it and introduce more or less flat stones. When the stones are incandescent, they take them out, all except those on the bottom. They lay on these a layer of fish, on which is placed a second bed of stones, then a layer of fish, and so on until the oven is full. It is closed with stones, and covered with reeds. The fish is thus cooked by steaming.

Métraux notes that this is a very ancient type of earth oven in South America.

Hunting is almost as important to the Uru as fishing, neither of which is basic in Chipaya economy. The river marshes abound with birds of many kinds: waterhens (*uesla*, *lokya*), ducks (*soyna*), geese (*vulata*), loons (*palle*), herons (*alili*), various diving birds and gulls; a large unidentified black bird they call *lisuaku* or *lilisaka*. Other unidentified birds are: *lalata*, *kalawaina* (*waina* is Aymará for "youth, young man"), *alowa*, *lorani*. Of these aquatic birds, only the "bobo" (*palle*) is not hunted or eaten, because of its rank, oily flesh. Most frequently hunted is a kind of red duck called *p'aasoyna*.

The Uru hunt birds by several methods. Posnansky says men hunting alone in the early morning disguise themselves in bunches of reeds, slowly approach the birds who are still stupefied by the cold of the night, then, grabbing them by the feet, they quickly kill the birds by biting the head or twisting the neck. The Uru are able users of slingshots woven or braided of varicolored llama-wools; and they also use *bolas*, made with two large

9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24
Aymara

wooden balls and a small grooved, ovoid stone for the handgrip.[9] They have no firearms, nor have they ever possessed them apparently. The bow and arrow is likewise lacking, spears are used only in obtaining fish.

An interesting group-hunt at determined periods employs both men and sometimes women. They stretch in selected sites extensive nets, sometimes hundreds of meters long, for birds whose flight is near the surface of the water; the nets are extended below the surface also, to prevent the escape of diving birds. They anchor the nets to faggots or clumps of *totora* set in slightly curved lines. Then hunters in their *balsas* make much noise and frighten the birds into the almost invisible nets, where they can despatch them with clubs (*yokwa*), and kill with their *balsa* those which attempt to escape. Uru also eat the eggs (*kuk*) of aquatic birds. The flesh of the birds is cut into strips, hung in the sun, and dried into a kind of *charqui* ("jerky," from the Aymará *ch'arki*).

The Uru do little hunting of land animals. Vicuñas (*Auchenia vicuña*; *wañaja*, a word obviously related to Aymará *huaja*, llama) are extremely scarce or absent, as are also guanacos. It is said, however, that in winters of very extreme cold[10] small groups of vicuñas may stray down into the Desaguadero region. The head male of the herd is lanced, and the others of the herd, immobilized by the cold, are speedily killed. The small rodents of the pampas, like the vizcacha (*qhilai*), apparently are not hunted by the Uru. Most of the birds they kill, like a good proportion of the fish they catch, they take to the villages to trade for other food and necessary articles, since these are their sole source of revenue, beyond their *balsa*-making.

Material Culture. The stalks of the giant reed *totora* (a *Cyperaceous* plant, *Scirpus totora*) are surely the most important substance in Uru material culture: of them they make fish-weirs, supports for bird-nests, reed-mats, floor- and sitting-mats, rafters, doors, *balsa*-boats and their sails, and the few cattle they have browse upon the roots of the *totora* as well. Unless *balsas* are frequently removed from the water and thoroughly dried, they last scarcely longer than a year or two before rotting. The Uru *balsa*-builders are famous and supply many of their Aymára neighbors with them in the southwestern region of Lake Titicaca. The reeds must first be cut with

[9] An Uru bola from the Desaguadero is now in the possession of Dr Frank G. Speck, in his private collection at the University of Pennsylvania.

[10] The Aymára have a phrase to designate extreme cold or "bone-numbing" weather: *q'ala* ("stone"), *haluya* ("to split"), *wari* (vicuña), *q'oeya* ("makes cry"), i.e. weather cold enough to split stones and make the fluffy-woolled vicuña scream. The Aymára schoolboys in La Paz—according to my "cholo" interpreter, the late Moisés Alvarez, who was one of them—have made a very effective football ("futbol") yell of this familiar phrase: *q'ala haluya wari q'oeya, wra wra!*